1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R Y 4/Koryak R Y 4

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to visit the settlement, the augury desired was a line indicating the sea. To the delight of all the participants in the ceremony, there soon appeared another crack across the bone, and intersecting the first line. Such a line indicates the sea; that is, that the home journey of the whale will be happily accomplished (see Fig. 31).

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Fig. 31. Shoulder-Blade of a Seal, used for Divination. (From a sketch.)

The ceremony of the equipment for the home journey of the white whale took place on the fifth day, in the morning of the 15th of October. During the three days intervening, — from the 11th to the 15th, — the inhabitants did not do any work. They called on each other, and gave feasts; but most of their time was spent in the house in which the ceremonies were taking place. The old men ate fly-agaric, and, when the intoxication had passed, they told whither the "Fly-Agaric Men" (Wapa'qala'nu) had taken them, and what they had seen. The women and the young people sang and beat the drum.

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In the evening of the 14th there was another gathering in Qaivi'lok's house. This time only two lamps were burning in the house. The women finished plaiting the grass bags required for the ceremony, and the host beat the drum and sang. Then his sisters beat two drums, and sang in praise of the guests, — that is, of the white whale and the seals, — dancing at the same time in the same way as they had done on the shore when meeting the white whale. During this ceremony they were overcome with such a frenzy, that the deafening roar of their drums was completely drowned by their desperate shrieks, which alternated with guttural rattlings.

On Oct. 15 the frost was rather severe, the minimum temperature being —23° C. For more than a mile the shallow beach was covered with blocks of ice, so that the high tide no longer reached the village. Winter had set in, and all hunting of sea-animals ceased.

By ten o'clock in the morning I was called into Qaivi'lok's house. The low entrance-door leading from the porch, which is closed for the winter, was still open. So far the opening in the roof had served only to admit light from outside, and to let out the smoke from within, but not as an entrance. The hearth was turned into something like an altar. On it were lying the travelling-bags plaited of grass (*Elymus mollis*), and filled with puddings which had been frozen outside. The heads of the white whale and of the seals had been placed on the altar, and sacrificial sedge-grass was hung around them. It was a bright, sunny day; and the light passing through the smoke-hole illuminated well the centre of the house and the hearth, leaving the recesses nearer the walls in semi-darkness. The light in the middle of the house permitted me to take a photograph of the hearth without the use of the flash-light (Plate v, Fig. 1).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 784 Koryak 784

one house to another is observed only in summer, since otherwise success in sealing may be brought to an end. But during the whale festival, families that are not interrelated bring into the house where the celebration takes place wood, dishes, food, and sacrificial grass. They build a fire jointly, and cook together. On the other hand, before the celebration takes place, all the bedding and the skin covers of the sleeping-rooms are taken out of the house. Temporarily the house is thus transformed into a ceremonial house.

In connection with this it may be mentioned, that, during the Koryak fair on the Palpal Mountains, which I visited, the Reindeer Koryak built a common oblong reindeer-skin tent. Each family covered a part of the tent with their own reindeer-skins. The house formed a long passage, on both sides of which the sleeping-rooms of the separate families were put up. In two places, near the foci of the oval, two hearths were built for general use. The Chukchee families that were present at the fair each put up a separate tent.

Not all the Maritime Koryak have transferred the ceremonies connected with the whale festival to white-whale hunting, as it is done in the villages of Paren, Kuel, and Itkana. The Koryak of Kamenskoye and Talovka told me that they celebrate the equipment of the white whale for the home journey without any particular ceremonies, right on the seashore, the customs being the same as those in practice after the capture of seals. They cut off the head of the captured white whale or seal, put berries in its mouth to feed it, hang sacrificial grass around it, and, turning its face seaward, pat it, and say, —

"I'nnaa a'tĕi vo'ten aya'yan. ı'mıñ qaitumgıya'nvo hewñava'ta: mıḷḷalai'
"Soon to-day with (this) tide (come). All relatives induce: come
kınemık."
on."

That is, "When the next high tide comes, induce all your relatives to come with you to visit us."

Then they add, "Go around the flippers of those who do not wish to come."[1] Thereupon they turn the face toward the village, and exclaim, "Uph, (he) has come!" (Gık, y'etti!)

The Koryak think that this incantation has the effect of bringing sea-animals with the following tide. Before sending off the head, they cut off a piece of the white whale's or the seal's liver; and the Koryak maintain that the liver of the next animal caught will lack a piece at the same place.

The Reindeer Koryak from the Taigonos Peninsula, a number of whom carry on sea-hunting on a small scale during the summer, after having procured a white whale, offer a sacrifice of a reindeer or a dog to the master of the sea (añqa'ken-etı'nvıla'n). They cut off a piece of fat from the white whale or seal, and, throwing it into the fire, they say, "Come back later on."

[1] The Koryak words represented by this last sentence could not be literally translated.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

which the husband shut his eyes to his wife's liaison with their herdsman; but the husband was a sickly man, and, besides, the herd belonged to his wife. I learned of another curious case on the Taigonos Peninsula. A man, being informed that his wife was visited by his neighbor while he himself was absent, said to the offender, "If you like my wife, don't visit her secretly, but take her altogether, only give me your daughter in exchange." The neighbor complied with so wise a proposal, and they exchanged the women; the neighbor, as luck would have it, having a grown-up daughter.

TREATMENT OF CHILDREN. — The birth of a child is a joyous event, and marked by a feast, to which guests are invited from other houses, or, among the Reindeer Koryak, from other camps. This festivity is called Añanavis-xatin ("woman's feast"). Among the Maritime Koryak, all women and girls of the village are invited in. Men are not admitted at all; even the master of the house leaves his home. The main dish consists of gruel or pudding made of flour, blood, meat, and fat. This pudding is called ta'knañoika ("bearing-blessing"), symbolizing the future welfare of the child. The Reindeer Koryak, on the occasion of the birth of a child, kill one or more reindeer, and invite men and women to the feast; but the women eat apart from the men, in the sleeping-tent of the young mother, while the house-master entertains the men in the outer tent. The Reindeer Koryak make the same kind of pudding as the Maritime Koryak, and call it by the same name.

I have already spoken[1] of the taboos to which the young mother is subjected, of the care taken to guard the child against evil spirits, and of the divination ceremony while giving a name to the new-born. According to the statements of Koryak women, confinement is easy. In each settlement there is an experienced woman who acts as a midwife. The navel-string is cut with an ordinary iron knife. This knife is not used again until the child is able to walk. The new-born child is rubbed with moss, and immediately placed in a combination-suit,[2] which takes the place of a cradle. The child is rocked by the mother in her arms, or placed in bed by her own side. On the flap[3] between the child's legs moss is laid, which is frequently changed. The child is nursed up to the age of two or three years, unless a second pregnancy of the mother prevents her from doing so. At a very early age the child is given pieces of fat of reindeer or seal to suck. I was told that, if the mother dies during or soon after confinement, the child is killed and cremated with the mother, as artificial feeding is impossible with the Koryak's means of existence.

The Koryak are very fond of children. They take good care of them and fondle them. Children are beaten very rarely, and yet they are meek and obedient. I have often marvelled at the authority exercised by the elders over the children. I related the case[4] of a girl of about nine who consented

[1] See Part I, pp. 100, 101. [2] See p. 601. [3] See p. 600. [4] See p. 591.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

tales do we find any trace of the representative principle before the advent of the Russians. The principle of seniority dominated in the settlement as well as in the family. By seniority we must not understand greater age alone, but also greater physical strength. Aged weaklings were not considered. As long as no stronger man appeared, the founder of the settlement was the elder. The sacred post[1] erected by him was regarded as the guardian of the entire settlement. The strong man always had several wives and many children, and after his death his family continued to dominate in the settlement. In the reports of the Cossacks who fought the Koryak, mention is made of the elders of settlements. There the Yakut name Toyon is given them, which name in Yakut also means the representative of a clan or gens. The Koryak called them E'yem, which means "the strong one." What the power of these leaders was cannot be gathered from these reports; but they relate that the settlements would at times combine into defensive and offensive unions, as was the case during the uprisings of the Koryak against the Russian conquerors. What part was played in the formation of these unions by the E'yems, what part by the mass of the Koryak, we do not know. During battles the extreme authority was vested in the "strong men" and the good warriors, but leadership in war was not always accorded to the elder in times of peace.

The family shamans and the professional shamans, who regulated the family cult and the general religious life of the people, enjoyed a position of a certain prominence in social affairs. Often the "elders" and "braves" themselves possessed shamanistic powers, or they kept shaman helpers, whose magic assisted them in their combats with enemies.

The fortification of a settlement[2] was the concern of all its inhabitants. I have spoken before of the guardians of settlements and of the communal character of the whale festival.[3] It is very probable that in ancient times special houses were set apart in the villages for gatherings and feasts. In describing the whale festival[4] I pointed out that the celebrations took place in the largest house of the village, that the fire of the hearth was kept alive by wood supplied by each and every one of the participating families, the beds and sleeping-tents having previously been carried out of doors. Thus the dwelling was temporarily transformed into a public house, the family hearth became a communal hearth, and all the inhabitants of the settlement cooked their meals at its fire. I saw another public house at the fair in the Palpal. This house was a large skin tent built by all the Reindeer Koryak who had come to the fair.[5] In one myth[6] we are told that in the centre of the kalau settlement a large house was situated, where the kalau were gathered for a council.

We find another manifestation of social tendencies in the still surviving

[1] See Part I, Fig. 4, p. 37. [2] See p. 763. [3] See Part I, p. 69.
[4] Ibid., p. 71. [5] See p. 452; also Plate XXX, Fig. 2. [6] See Part I, p. 314, No. 124.

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

sea hunting with reindeer-breeding. The remaining 7 groups of Koryaks—the Kamentsy, Parentsy, Itkantsy, Apukintsy, Kereks, Karagintsy and Palantsy—also maintained complex economies, with one or another occupation predominating. 184 433

Koryak reindeer-breeding was of two types. The first type—the keeping of large herds—existed among the Chavchuvens. In the early part of the 20th century, a small group of reindeer-breeders owned large herds, accounting for up to 80% of the total number of head. In the area of the Penzhina River, some reindeer-breeders owned 2-3 herds, adding up to as many as 10,000 reindeer. The pasturing of the large herds owned by the rich Koryaks was done by poor Koryaks who owned only a few reindeer or none at all, and were compelled to tend their master's herds in exchange for food and clothing. 184 233 [446] [556]

The reindeer provided the principal item of the reindeer-breeders' diet—meat, and the basic material for clothing and housing—hides, as well as tendons, of which thread was made. At the same time, the reindeer was to the reindeer-breeders the sole means of transportation. Hence, the entire life of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks was adapted to the demands of their basic occupation. In winter, the herd grazed near the encampment. As soon as the pasture was exhausted, the master drove out in a light sled, similar to that of the Chukchi and harnessed to a pair of deer, to search for another pasture. After that, the entire camp migrated to the new site, and the herdsmen drove the herd to the new pasture. Such migrations took place 4-5 times during the winter. In the spring, before the calving (in April), the females were separated from the rest of the herd. Calving time (May) was the hardest period for the reindeer-breeders. The newborn calves had to be protected from predators—wolves, foxes, wolverines and ravens, and also kept from freezing. At this time, the herdsmen had no rest either by day or by night. They were helped by members of their families, and even old men and children took part in guarding the herd in encampments where the human population was small. Afterwards, the herdsmen drove the herds for the whole summer into the mountains, which abounded in pasturelands. The correct choice of the summer pasture determined the welfare of the herd for the entire year. Summer pasturing required from the reindeer-breeder great skill, experience, and knowledge of the tundra and the reindeer's requirements. The encampment was situated at this period in a summer site, usually on the bank of a river abounding in fish. In autumn (at the end of September and beginning of October), the herdsmen brought the herd to the encampment. Meeting of the herd—one of the principal holidays of the reindeer-breeders—was attended by numerous rituals. After the first snow, the herd and the camp migrated to the winter range. 233 [825] [493] [492] 233 221 [592] [529]

The herding was done without dogs, which the Koryak reindeer-breeders did not use. Nimble feet, alert eyes and a leather lasso requiring great skill of the herdsmen—these were the means at his disposal to protect the herd from snowstorms and wolves in winter, from foxes and ravens in spring, during the calving season, and from mosquitoes and gnats in summer. 233

Another type of reindeer-breeding—that of small herds—existed among the Alyutortsy Koryaks. More than 50% of all the Alyutortsy kept reindeer, but few had herds as large as 1000 head. A characteristic feature of Alyutor reindeer-breeding was the use of dogs as the principal sled animals. Each household had one, two, three or more teams. Reindeer were used only for short trips without loads. [184] [492]

This type of reindeer-breeding was usually combined with sea hunting and fishing. All the Alyutortsy, with rare exceptions, went out on sea hunts, especially in spring, when they hunted on drifting ice floes. In summer, 184 225